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the latter to the "Holy Roman Empire". How can the student appreciate the importance of the decrees of the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries unless by turning a page he is able to read the official utterances of the Franconian and Hohenstaufen emperors? Instead of being enabled conveniently so to do, he finds a body of material upon "General Institutions of the Middle Ages" thrust in between, together with Greek texts pertaining to the Byzantine Empire. The arrangement followed by Dr. Reich seems most awkward.

Less exception may be taken to the actual texts selected. In the main these are the most important and most familiar official documents, for nothing is included of a narrative or annalistic nature except an extract from Einhard upon the coronation of 800. There are some notable historical developments entirely ignored, however. There is not a text to illustrate the break-up of the Frankish empire in the ninth century, unless the capitulary of Quierzy (877) be so taken; and nothing at all upon the history of the Capetian monarchy. The whole breadth of time between Charles the Bald and Philip IV. is ignored. The texts here compiled are good so far as they go, but the self-laudation of Dr. Reich in the preface, to the effect that "any teacher of history will at once recognize that the choice of the documents, the introductions, the bibliographies, and the elaborate index, all concur to give into the hands of students a work of reference such as has not yet been attempted either here or on the continent" (p. x.), is far from being justified by the facts, even omitting considerations of taste. The teacher of history will not dispense with Schilling's *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, Gaffarel's *Histoire Contemporaine*, and Corréard's *Textes pour servir à l'étude des institutions de la France*, for the study of modern history; or with Richter's *Annalen*, Doeberl's *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, and Langlois's *Textes relatifs à l'histoire du parlement de Paris*, for medieval history. He will still need these, and others. It should be added in praise of Dr. Reich that he has been scrupulous in his care that the documents have been copied from the best-established texts of the originals.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The Growth of the Manor. By DR. P. VINOGRADOFF. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 384.)

THE purpose of this volume is to bring together the results of special investigations into manorial origins; to examine these in order to determine how far they harmonize and how far they may be accepted; and to give a general survey of the various phases of social organization from Celtic to feudal times that had an important bearing on the development of the manor. The book is both critical and constructive. The author rejects many conclusions that have recently gained wide acceptance, reinstates several discarded theories, and advances some that are new. He avoids "legal subtleties", points out the danger of

being misled by the artificialities of fiscal records—"the world does not primarily exist for the sake of fiscal schemes, nor society for the sake of police arrangements" (p. 149)—and makes bolder use of inference from general economic and social conditions, from analogy and from late "survivals" than have his most distinguished fellow-workers in this field.

In this volume, as in his *Villainage in England*, the general position is maintained that in the early Saxon period the typical form of rural social organization was the community of free shareholders upon which, as society gradually became feudalized, manorialism was superimposed. Thus his conclusions regarding the time and the causes of the development of seigniorial power and of the manorialization of the village community are in general agreement with those of Professor Maitland, while, on the other hand, his views respecting the communal organization of the Old English township are repeatedly set forth in sharp contrast to Professor Maitland's belief in the early existence of individualism and the derivation of village organization from "seigniorial and governmental pressure".

With this conception of the importance of communalism in the society of an early period, the conception of the kindred as a highly organized body and the family group as the land-owning group is naturally associated. In his discussion of Celtic tribal arrangements Professor Vinogradoff maintains the following conclusions: The organization of Celtic society was mainly determined by the agnatic principle; although relationship through women formed a basis for certain rights. It is a mistake to argue with Professor Maitland and others that the recognition of cognatic relationship or of independent rights of women precludes the existence of the agnatic clan. The two competing principles of relationship acted simultaneously though with unequal force. The typical *gwely* was occupied by a community of free shareholders, members of an agnatic family, co-operating in agrarian activities. The serfs did not cultivate the land of the freemen but dwelt in separate villages of their own. General economic conditions did not favor the existence of slavery. The rude equality that prevailed among freemen was not due to democratic ideals but to the consideration necessarily shown to the warriors of the tribe.

In the chapter on Roman Britain, which is based largely on a study of continental conditions, it is argued that village communities with an independent organized life survived and were even created under Roman rule. Roman civilization did indeed tend toward the spread of private ownership in land; yet this tendency was by no means completely realized. The *fundus* of the tax-roll is an artificial unit, and arguments based upon the apparent prevalence of this form of estate are unsound. In the fourth and fifth centuries conditions favored the rise of village communities with powers of self-government. The position of the colonus, which was more advantageous than that of the small freeman, differed widely from that of the medieval serf, since he did

not cultivate the demesne but paid rent in money or in a share of the produce. In Britain Roman influence was felt in spots, but had no general transforming power.

With regard to the Old English period it is maintained that the kindred or *mægth* was a definite body, in some degree organized, and agnatic in its main constitution. In opposition to Professor Maitland's view, Professor Vinogradoff says (p. 138): "The assumption of some permanent organisation is not in any way disturbed by the right of every single individual to claim support for the exaction and execution of payments according to varying degrees of relationship. . . . The . . . organisation of kindred . . . exists not for the apportionment of claims but for enforcing them by the authority and action of the whole."

Settlement was by *mægths*, and the unit of landed property was the *terra familiae* (*hiwisc* or hide), which, as involving a kind of house-community with regard to proprietorship and cultivation, was "probably not unlike" the Welsh *gwely* (p. 141). The hide was mainly cultivated by freemen who were also warriors. Women, probably, could not hold land. Collectively, the hides formed the *folcland*, charged with numerous duties to the king, from many of which, at least, it generally became exempt when converted into *bocland*. Only as *bocland* did it become individual property, and, in general, capable of free alienation. The form of settlement, which was determined by the conditions of settlement rather than by racial psychology, was generally the village.

The very nature of the open-field system of husbandry necessitated some sort of township organization. In his discussion of this subject Professor Vinogradoff follows to a considerable extent the line of reasoning pursued in his *Villainage in England*. In the absence of contemporary evidence, he infers much from evidence of later date; thus, he believes that the corporate management of arable land by urban communities in much later times is an indication of communal ownership of arable by early agrarian communities (pp. 175, 261). He points out that the unity of the *tún* or township (terms which he prefers to "vill") is revealed by its appearance as a party in the important class of agreements and suits connected with the determination of boundaries and other matters of intervillar concern (p. 167); argues for the existence of a township moot (pp. 194-196, 273-274); and concludes that the distribution of political and ecclesiastical duties among townships resulted from the fact that these were compact economic units.

Within the township the single share or hide long preserved its integrity, which, however, the growth of population tended to destroy. From the conflict of tendencies working toward the integrity and the division of the hide, the *virgate* resulted.

Forces were also at work that gave the private owner greater control over the disposition of his land; and in the form of *bocland* or *loanland* landed property became mobilized and large areas passed into the possession of private individuals. The development of individualistic tendencies and of economic inequality marked the approach of the feudal

period. The tribal system was superseded by patronage, which tended "to strike roots" and become lordship. The Danish wars gave rise to a professional military class which had to be supported by larger territorial areas, by dues from the *ceorl* (*gafolgelder* or *tributarius*) formerly paid to the king, and finally by labor services. Demesne land (inland) appeared, and this, as a rule, was free from taxation, which the tenants' land (warland) bore. The manor began to assume its familiar form, and two classes of manors may be distinguished: (1) those planted by thegns, who were "pioneers of economic progress and colonisation" (p. 128) as well as warriors; and (2) those which existed as free village communities before they fell under the sway of lords.

It was only after the conquest that the principles were systematically accepted of *nulle terre sans seigneur*; of service as the condition of tenure; and of status as determined by service. The working out of these principles resulted in a new social organization and in the creation of new social classes. The township was superseded by the manor as "the organising unit of property and population" (p. 299), and as a convenient instrument by which the conquerors carried on a portion of the work of local administration.

The advent of the "manorial epoch" was accompanied by a change in the theory of landownership; the integrity of tenants' holdings became assured; the principle of joint liability, which played an important part in the life of the Old English township, was recognized.

In the interesting closing chapter on "Social Classes" in the feudal period it is maintained that the classification of persons in Domesday Book corresponds to economic rather than to legal distinctions. The line drawn between villeins, *bordiers*, etc., indicates merely a difference in the size and character of the holdings of the various groups of tenants.

In the foregoing summary no mention has been made of several conclusions, especially on technical points, which will be of much interest to the special student of the period. To such students, of course, the book is indispensable; while, on account of its breadth of treatment and its suggestive quality, it ought also to be welcomed by a far wider circle.

The book is by no means conclusive. So little evidence is adduced in support of large generalizations that the author often fails to convince. A strong case has indeed been made for the late manorialization of the vill, but his other main contention as to the organized life of the early village community seems still unproved. Particularly unsatisfactory are his discussions of the hide, of the document known as "Tribal Hidage", and of the Domesday teamlands (part II., chapter III., especially pp. 163, 250, and 255). Nor do his views regarding the classification of persons in Domesday Book appear to have sufficient support.

It is a pity that so valuable a work has not been issued in better form. Typographical errors abound, on account of which many refer-

ences are unverifiable; while the notes, which contain many of the most important criticisms and conclusions, are so awkwardly inserted at the ends of the three parts into which the volume is divided that reference to them is difficult. The index, which has been prepared by Mr. Alexander Savine, seems excellent.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

Innocent III.: La Croisade des Albigeois. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE.
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. 262.)

IN this volume M. Luchaire continues the study begun in *Innocent III.: Rome et l'Italie*¹. It is to be hoped that he will eventually publish a history of Innocent III. with a sufficient apparatus of foot-notes, etc. In spite of all that has been written concerning the great pope, there is need for such a work, and M. Luchaire shows in this volume, as he has done in his preceding work, that he is pre-eminently fitted for the task.

The book is divided into five chapters, treating respectively "La France du Midi et l'opposition religieuse"; "La papauté et les hérétiques"; "Les préliminaires de la Croisade"; "La Guerre des Albigeois"; and "Les tentatives de réaction". The first is a brief but delightful sketch of the conditions in *la France ensoleillée* on the eve of the Albigensian Crusade. If space permitted, we would gladly quote some of the passages in which the author portrays the characteristics of the people and the reasons for the spread of heresy. Possibly here more than anywhere else in his writings M. Luchaire has shown his artistic skill in seizing the words and phrases best fitted to depict the conditions which he wishes to emphasize.

The other chapters, as the titles indicate, are devoted to a study of Innocent's attitude toward heresy, and especially the Albigensian Crusade. Events are narrated only to illustrate the pope's actions, and the account practically ends with the Fourth Lateran Council. It is not a history of the Albigensian Crusade. Even for the period which it covers, many of the important details of the war are omitted, because they are not important for the author's purpose.

The contribution which this book makes is a careful study of the diplomatic relations which Innocent carried on with his own legates, with the leaders of the crusade, with the nobles of Languedoc, and with the kings of France and Spain. M. Luchaire does not believe in "the prearranged duplicity", or "the purposed deceit", of Innocent. He represents the pope repeatedly as "mal obéi, mal renseigné, tiraillé entre ses propres tendances et les suggestions des violents" (p. 148). He shows how the legates exceeded their instructions and practically forced Innocent to recognize the *fait accompli*. He believes that Innocent at the Lateran Council yielded against his will in disinheriting the two Raymonds of Toulouse, and that "en sauvant leur dynastie de la ruine totale, il avait rendu leur succès possible" (p. 259).

¹ See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X. 633-634.